FRAGIST

April, 1920

The Suffrage Storm Center

How Women's Votes Can Count

Rheta Childe Dorr

The English Woman in Government

Isabel Morley

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(Incorporated 1918)

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SUFFRAGIST

Official Organ of the National Woman's Party

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

THE lower House of the Delaware legislature on April 1 voted against the ratification of the suffrage amendment. The Governor of Delaware is a Republican. The legislature of the state is overwhelmingly of the same party.

This is the first defeat of ratification by the assembly of any legislature called into special session to act on the amendment, and the first strictly Republican vote against ratification.

If Delaware fails to redeem its vote of last Thursday it will be the first Republican state to act unfavorably on the question of women's enfranchisement.

The test of the Republican party has come.

In Congress its record shows an 83 per cent vote in the House and an 81 per cent vote in the Senate. Of the 35 states which have ratified the amendment, the Republicans have given 25.

Does this mean that the Republicans want the women to vote in the coming elections or merely that they want the 17,000,000 who already vote for President to admire their record?

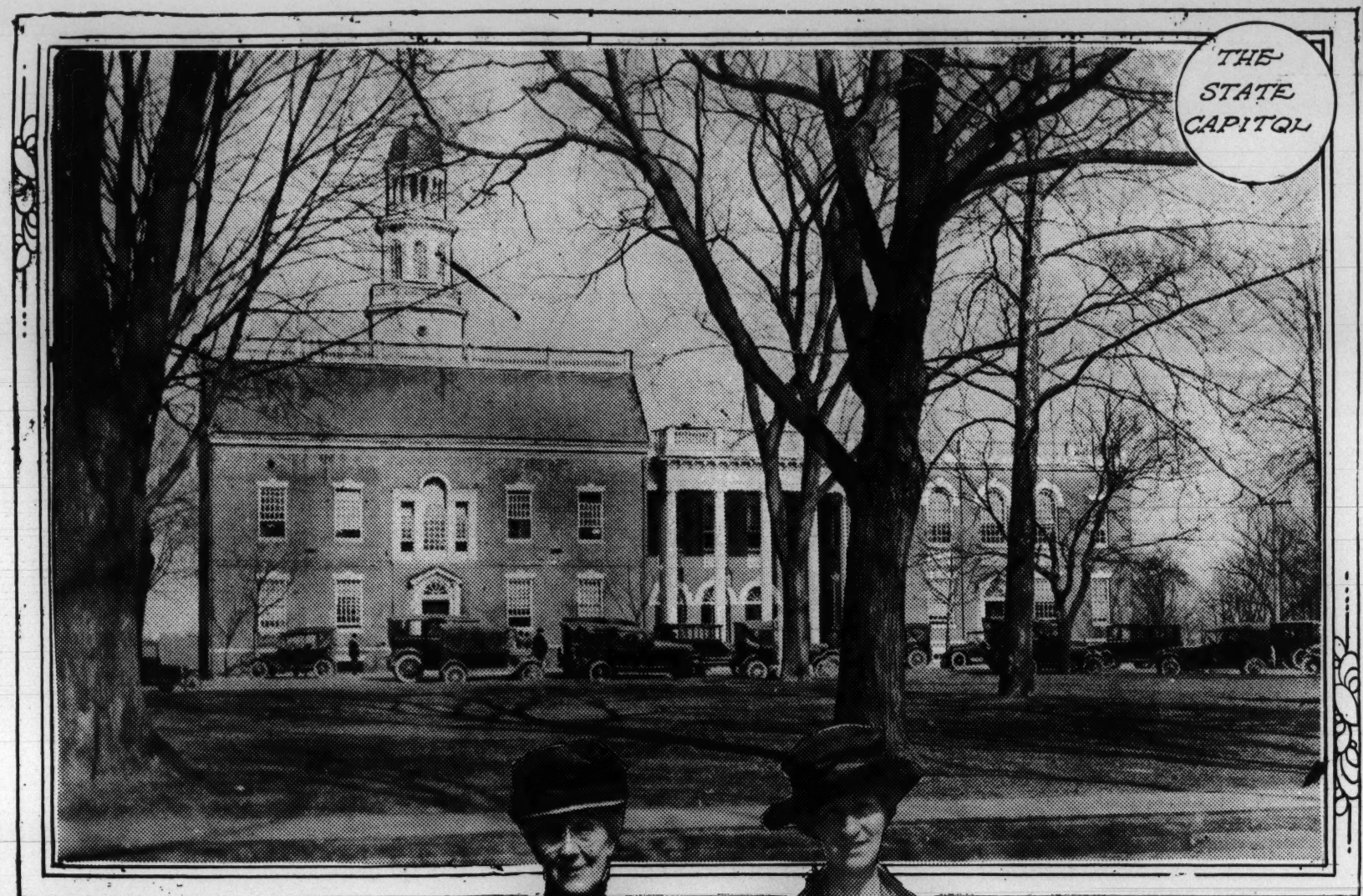
The Republicans will answer this question by giving or refusing the 36th state.

They have three opportunities—to wrest victory out of the recent defeat in Delaware where the legislature is still in session, or to call sessions and ratify in Connecticut or Vermont where both governors and legislatures are Republican but where the governors have so far steadily refused to call special sessions.

It is impossible to prophesy how women will vote if they are enfranchised. But there can be no doubt as to how a thoughtful woman who already has presidential suffrage will vote in regard to any party that refuses national suffrage to women in time for the elections of 1920.

[This issue of the SUFFRAGIST has been delayed in the hope that it might announce a decision in Delaware. Before it is off the presses action may yet be taken.

A victory number will be issued as soon after the 36th state ratifies as possible.]



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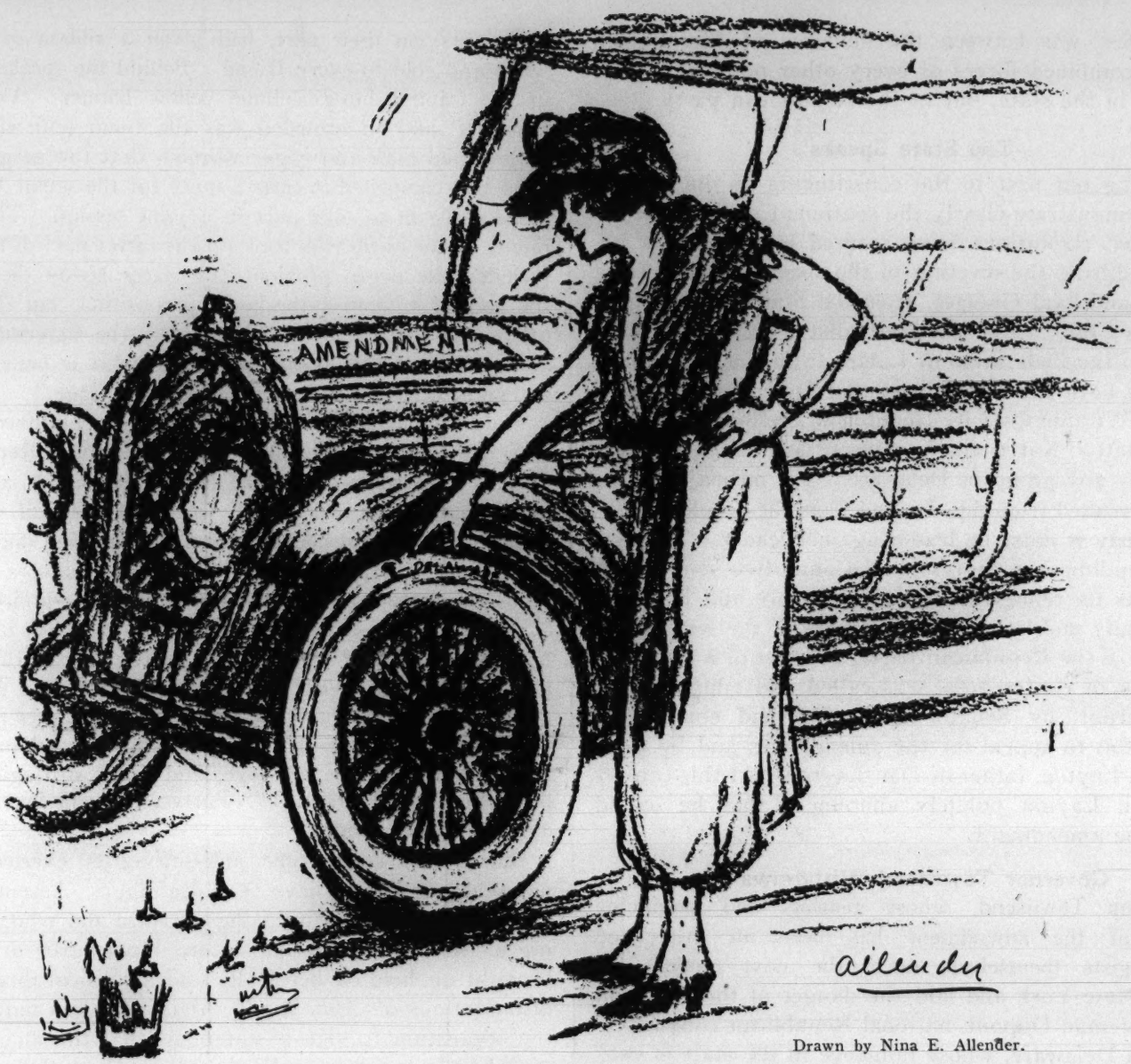
In this Delaware statehouse, the Constitution of the United States received its first ratifying vote. Here women are now fighting for the final ratification of the amendment which will complete the democracy that Constitution established, and extend to women the political equality for which America stands.

The desk on which the original ratification was signed remains in the statehouse awaiting the signature that will make the Susan B. Anthony amendment law

Mrs. Hilles is Chairman and Mrs. Dupont Vice-Chairman of the Delaware branch of the National Woman's Party

MRS. VICTOR DUPONT, Sr., OF WILMINGTON

MRS. FLORENCE BAYARD HILLES



Drawn by Nina E. Allender.

A Puncture in Delaware

The Suffrage Storm Center

IF the Governor of Delaware had called the special session of his legislature six months ago when the Woman's Party asked him to, he would have saved that state a lot of trouble.

As it is the responsibility for the enfranchisement of women now rests upon it, and, in addition, the responsibility for the Republican party record on this issue. This is the situation as suffragists see it and as it appears to national Republican leaders.

The question now is, can the Delaware legislator be made to see the issue like a suffragist or like the Republican he claims to be? If there is any way to do it, it will be done, for there is not a suffrage or a political influence in the country which has not been turned squarely on Dover for the last week.

When the special session convened on March 22d, it was evident the anti-suffrage forces had the votes, though a poll taken by the Woman's Party in the summer had indicated a majority and the Governor had stated he would not call a session unless he was certain of success.

Nevertheless on March 22, though there was apparently not an anti-suffragist in the legislature of Delaware, there was certainly no majority for suffrage. But there is in that body a factional fight and suffrage was no more than the dust in its whirlwind.

When the Woman's Party opened its headquarters in Dover just one thing was certain, Dan Layton, state chairman of the Republican party and leader of Sussex county, because of his unrelenting opposition to the Governor of the state, had set his will to defeat the amendment. Mr. Layton had always been supposed to be for suffrage, but that had nothing to do with it. The fact that the Republican national committee, that his own state committee, of which he is the chairman, and every other Republican body in Delaware demanded that the amendment be ratified also had nothing to do with it.

The contest was between the influence of Mr. Layton and the combined forces of every other political leader, not only in the state, but in the Republican party.

The State Speaks

Reaching out first to the constituents of the legislators to demonstrate clearly the sentiment of the state for ratification, resolutions were secured by suffragists before and during the meeting of the special session, from the state and local Granges, from the State Federation of Woman's Clubs, from the Methodist Delaware convention, from the Federation of Labor, from the State Committee of both the Republican and Democratic parties, from the Wilmington City Republican Committee, largest in the State. Not a single adverse sentiment was expressed by any group in Delaware. Yet no majority for suffrage resulted from this demand from the people.

Obviously it must be leader against leader. The National Republican Congressional Committee sent Frank Barrow as its representative to Delaware and he interviewed daily and hourly the members of the legislature. A caucus of the Republican party, the first of a continual succession of conferences, was called and addressed by the Governor, by Senator Ball, who had come from Washington to appeal for the amendment, and by Congressman Layton, father of Dan Layton. At this conference, Dan Layton publicly announced that he would oppose the amendment.

Governor Townsend Withdraws

Governor Townsend, whose fearless and sacrificing support of the amendment has been an inspiration to suffragists themselves, made the next move. He went to New York and laid the danger of the situation before Coleman Dupont, national Republican committeeman from Delaware, whose influence in the state is very great. Mr. Dupont came to Wilmington, interviewed various men, wrote various letters. He then moved straight into Dover and worked steadily for the amendment. Gradually there was a weakening in the opposition, here and there a vote was gained, but the southern part of the state was as solidly opposed as ever.

Every day delegations of the political leaders in their locality came to interview members of the legislature in Dover. Every night when members went home, as many of them did, other committees sat on their door steps and urged them to vote for ratification. Former U. S. Senator Allee of Delaware, a man of influence in the southern section, has devoted himself to work for the amendment.

Governor Townsend on his part did everything possible to make it easy for the leaders of the southern part of the state to bring the representatives of that section over to the amendment. In a splendid speech before a Republican conference he withdrew his candidacy for election as delegate to the national convention.

On March 25th a public hearing on suffrage was held in the capitol before a joint session of the legislature. The little city, with its old-fashioned green in front of the state house, looked as if some great peaceful popular uprising had taken place. The antis had rushed into town every farmer and small politician they could lay their hands on and had pinned a red rose in his buttonhole to show him off. The suffragists, on their part, had given a ribbon of purple, white and gold to every friend. Behind the speaker's desk in the Capitol hung a huge yellow banner: "Votes for Women," and so crowded was the room with contrarily determined men and eager women, that the sergeant-at-arms was compelled to clear a space for the senate before it could come in to take part in a joint session. The arguments of the antis who took up the latter part of that day included the negro problem, the states rights theory and the eternal woman-in-the-home proposition, but the chief arguments seemed to resemble closely the statement of an anti-senator in the Mississippi senate: "It is better to die and go to hell than to vote for woman suffrage."

Since the day of this hearing Dover has continued full of suffrage leaders and a fair share of antis. Republican officials have come in person, and by messenger, and have kept the wires crowded with words of political warning. Visions of a lost presidency, and a Democratic Congress are being held before hesitating Republican members. Wires from the governors of the states already ratified, from Republican state chairmen, from senators, from men who have been and men who want to be Republican Presidents are arriving in a steady succession for men who normally get perhaps one telegram a year. Powerful men in Delaware are getting messages from friends they didn't know had ever thought of suffrage, and from suffragists they didn't know were "friends." Party feuds and family feuds alike have been ignored.

During the entire time anti-suffragists exerted every possible pressure to have the vote taken. Assemblyman Hart, who had introduced the measure and who, according to the rules of the legislature, must agree to have it brought up, held off heroically under political threats and intimidations of every kind. At last he was induced by the opposition to sign a statement that the amendment would be brought up on Wednesday. Nevertheless when he realized that it was bound to be defeated he refused to bring it up and left the capitol for his own home, escorted by suffragists. The antis immediately followed him and finally secured his signature to another statement that the amendment, whether he was there or not, should be brought up on Thursday.

It was brought up on April 1 and was defeated 22 to 9 with 3 not voting. Failure of the opponents to have it brought up for immediate reconsideration left the opportunity for a further attempt and for what is regarded as an excellent chance of victory.

Alfred I. Dupont immediately after the defeat realizing what was at stake in Delaware, came at once to the rescue and gave the support of his paper and his own immense personal influence to ratification. Every political influence in the state is now working for the amendment except one—that of Dan Layton, and it is freely rumored that his refusal to follow his party in this issue may lead to his resignation as state chairman.

The Fight Continues

The afternoon of the defeat, organizers of the Woman's Party started out again to canvass the three counties of the little State, to persuade the people who, by resolutions, petitions and delegations, have already expressed their sentiment in favor of suffrage, to make their demand upon the

legislature irresistible. For many months before the opening of the session, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware Chairman of the Woman's Party had conducted a statewide campaign. She was first assisted in the summer by Mrs. Jessie Hardy Mackaye, national organizer for the party. Since the session convened, headquarters have been maintained in Dover and in Wilmington. Alice Paul, National Chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, National Ratification Chairman, have been in the state assisting Mrs. Hilles and Mrs. Victor Dupont, the Vice-Chairman. Miss Catherine Flanagan, Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Mabel Vernon and Miss Betty Gram, in addition to large committees of local women, have assisted throughout the state.

And this activity in the state tells only half the story for, as throughout the ratification campaign, there has been constant work in Washington. The Republican Congressional Committee was prevailed upon to send Mr. Frank Barrow as its representative to Delaware. Senator McKellar of Tennessee representing the South and Senator Sterling of South Dakota representing the West, were secured as speakers before the joint hearing of the legislature, while national leaders of both parties have been kept in constant touch with the situation which has made possible their cooperation and influence.

Miss Anita Pollitzer (left) legislative secretary of Woman's Party, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, finance chairman, surrounded on the steps of the Capitol by Republican and Democratic national leaders in Congress with whom they have worked in Washington to secure ratification from the states. From left to right: Dr. Simeon D. Fess, chairman National Republican Congressional Committee, Senator Poindexter, Senator McKellar, Champ Clark, and Senator Curtis

During the Delaware campaign, work has been continued in Vermont and Connecticut to secure special sessions in these states, while the growing desire on the part of Democratic leaders that North Carolina or Louisiana give the 36th ratification has been encouraged at every opportunity.

The Chances in Vermont

Already the efforts of the Vermont leaders of the Woman's Party and of Miss Elsie Hill, national organizer in that state, have succeeded in securing from the State Republican Committee a resolution asking the Governor for a special session. The Governor himself has said it was not because of opposition to suffrage, as has been supposed, but that he vetoed the presidential suffrage bill passed by the present legislature on constitutional grounds, and that he will consider a session if he is advised by the Attorney General of the State that its action on the amendment will be constitutional.

Many of the newspapers in Vermont are supporting the special session. The following editorial was taken from the Burlington *Daily News* of March 2d:

> "For a good many years there have been two opposing schools of thought in our political life, one believing in strict adherence to the forms of representative government, the other standing for direct government.
>
> "There is nothing in the political record of the governor of Vermont that would indicate his belief in the correctness of the latter doctrine so that we are a bit surprised to see him setting forth his disbelief in the ability of the Vermont Legislature to correctly interpret the wishes of its constituency in the matter of ratification of the suffrage amendment.
>
> "Our Legislature has functioned in a rather satisfactory manner for a good many years. Some sixteen amendments to the Constitution of the United States have been acted upon without serious question as to the fitness of the Legislature to act for the people.
>
> "Vermont does not need a referendum on the suffrage question nor on any other question to afford the people a square deal, yet we have an idea the governor would be disagreeably surprised if such a vote were taken on the suffrage question.
>
> "Governor Clement is out to hinder the progress of suffrage just as he was out to hinder the progress of prohibition and his measure of success in each instance will be about the same."

The Bellows Falls *Times* on its part said on March 4:

> "If it develops that the Governor's action (in failing to summon a special session) has delayed the adoption of the amendment until after the next election, he has erred. The reason the Governor gives for not calling the legislature, to-wit: That the ratification of this amendment to the Federal Constitution conflicts with the State Constitution, doesn't appeal to us a little bit. The Federal Constitution, the supreme law of the land, provides explicitly in itself for its own amendment."

In Connecticut

The Republican Governor of Connecticut, who has steadily refused to call a session of his Legislature, though a majority of its members are believed to favor ratification, has now been called upon by the Republican State Convention and by the Republican State Central Committee to issue the

(*Continued on page* 43)

The English Woman Takes Her Place in Government

For the First Time in History the Destinies of a Great Nation are to be in the Control of Women

"NOTHING," remarked a conservative London paper in a recent editorial, "can now prevent this country from being governed by an electorate predominantly composed of women." The occasion was the passage by the House of Commons, on the night of February 27th, of the second reading of the bill which will lower the voting age of English women to 21.

With the franchise extended only to women over 30, there are at present over six million women on the electoral registers. By the new bill, enactment of which cannot be delayed more than a few months, about thirteen and a half million women will be able to vote, as against a scant thirteen million men. Yet this fundamental revolution, whereby the destiny of a world power is for the first time in history being entrusted to the gentler sex, is being accomplished without any of the dire consequences foretold by statesmen of the past, and with the entire approval of a great majority of the nation—the vote a few days ago saw a majority of more than 3 to 1 in favor of enfranchising an additional seven million women.

Equal suffrage is practically an accomplished fact in England now. The stage of picketing, policemen and prisons is a thing of history. The war work of five weary years is also gathered to the past and everywhere on this island a flood of new, idealistic, feminine and nevertheless practical energy is being devoted to the solution of local, national and international problems in the order named.

Women in the Labor Party

Every party is organizing its women's divisions, and there are as bitter rivalries within the sex as are found among mere male politicians. But it is the Labour Party, which was always first and foremost in the fight for equal franchise, which has naturally captured most support from women, and it is the women who already form such an important factor in the Labour Party who are doing by far the most important political work of their sex today. Almost altogether so far, concentration is on the problems of local government, for English women fully realize that the reforms they hope to bring must be built permanently from the ground up.

At the municipal elections last November there were a large number of women candidates for local offices. Sixty of the Labour Party women candidates were elected as councillors and several as aldermen. The spring elections in the rural districts will undoubtedly see a still larger number of Labour women holding positions in governing bodies. Since the fusion of the Women's Labour League with the Labour Party and the organization of Women's Sections in the locals of the Labour Party all over the country there has been a marked increase in women's activities and, best of all, in tangible results. There are now over four hundred of these Women's Sections and new ones forming all the time. Owing to continual growth and the constant formation of new organizations there are no reliable statistics on the membership available as yet but it is plain that the Labour Party represents the greatest number of women of any political party.

How Women Are Organized

The Women's Sections are a part of the national organization and subject to its constitution just as is the Local Labour Party. They meet with the Local and play an active part in its work. They also have their own meetings and programs of work carried out under their own management with the co-operation of the Local. They have representation on the General Committee of the Local Labour Party.

The next step in the women's organization is the Advisory Council which is composed of groups of Women's Sections. These Councils of which there are about twelve, keep the sections in touch with each other and make it impossible for any section, no matter how new or small, to be isolated. Through its Advisory Council each section has the advantage of knowing what the neighboring sections are doing, their methods, successes and failures.

The Councils are doing invaluable work for one thing in getting lists of available women speakers. These lists are a wonderful help at election time, for it is always a problem to know where to lay hands on good women speakers. In the Spen Valley by-election, where women played such an important part in Labour's victory, the Women's Section found their electioneering work greatly facilitated by knowing through the Advisory Council where they could get speakers. In this way Labour women are developing more and more their own local talent and not always depending on a few well-known figures to do the talking.

Above the Advisory Councils comes the National Headquarters in London with one Chief Woman Officer, Dr. Marion Phillips, and five national organizers, whose business it is to go anywhere and everywhere that women are organizing and needing help. It is a simple, decentralized organism, leaving the basic units free to work out their own local problems and to do their own thinking but insuring them the support of the whole Labour movement.

The organization of women in local groups and their support of and by the Labour Party has already resulted in these women having a voice in their own government. In addition to the encouraging number of women councillors there are an increasing number of women serving on Child Welfare and School Committees and Boards of Guardians (that is, local relief organizations), particularly in communities where Labour has a strong representation.

There are four outstanding problems which, though they affect every member of the community, have hitherto been sadly neglected in England. They are housing, milk supply, child welfare and maternity questions. These are subjects which women understand and they intend to use their

organized influence and new powers in dealing with them. In every community where women are organized or where there are women councillors these subjects are being well aired and acted upon to the limit of local power.

To interest a group of men in the establishment of infant welfare and maternity centers is a good thing, but experience proves that it is far better to have women on the council who know what women need and how their needs may best be met. The recent Child Welfare Act gives local authorities enabling powers and provides assistance from the Ministry of Health, but for results persistent pushing from within is needed. Women will do this pushing.

The milk situation in England is a serious one. At 22 cents a quart milk is entirely out of the reach of many families who need it most. The Labor Party is in favor of a nationalized milk supply and federal regulation of prices but such a step must involve long parliamentary procedure. In the meantime women councillors have been energetic in forwarding schemes for free milk to families whose income is under a certain figure, milk at reduced prices to those below a higher figure.

The New Housing Act

Housing presents another vital problem. A good deal has been written about the English Garden Cities and English architects and town planning experts have done valuable work. But take the home of any poor English family and you will find conditions which would be thought impossible in America. While the American women take it for granted that every house must have water piped to the bathroom, a convenient way for heating water and gas for cooking, the English women are still using awkward coppers, carrying hot water up stairs for a bath, if they have a tub at all, and cooking on the old coal range. In addition such a necessity as central heating is unheard of in any English working class home today. Now that building can be resumed and thousands of new houses are to be erected, Englishwomen have their big opportunity to see that these out-of-date exhausting conditions are not perpetuated in the new homes.

The new Housing Act provides with admirable foresight that every Local Authority must provide such houses as are required by the working classes of the district. They are given three months to submit plans for the approval of the Ministry of Health. If approved and completed within a certain time the Ministry of Health will provide financial help. In explaining the provisions of the new act the Ministry of Health has recommended that women be represented on the Housing Committee of each locality. The Labour Party women have worked night and day on this, because it is such an important factor in every home and community and is something that can and should be done immediately. By means of a sort of questionnaire the Labour Party has found out from the working class women what improvements are most needed. They have worked hard and successfully at plans for houses and schemes for cooperative house management and in this way aided the housing committee. Everywhere the attitude of the working class women and Labour Party members is "Let's do the practical things, the things close at hand where immediate results will be beneficial."

Important as it is, the work of the women organized in the Labour Party by no means covers the whole political activity of Englishwomen today. It is true that outside of the Labour Party no political party is really active on questions affecting women's place in the community, but very valuable work is being done by a non-partisan organization—the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. The war and the subsequent granting of partial franchise to women naturally meant the disbanding of a large part of the suffrage organizations as such. Entirely aside from war activities the creation of Women's Citizen Associations and the rapid growth of similar local institutions absorbed the energy which had formerly gone into the suffrage movement.

With the battle for suffrage virtually won, the societies which made up the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies changed their name to the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. In like manner they broadened their program to demand complete equality of liberties, status and opportunities between men and women. They have now about three hundred societies affiliated with the Union. Any society may join the organization provided its objects include any one or all of the objects of the national. It is very well organized, with the national headquarters acting as an efficient brain for the whole. While rather more centralized than the Women's Section of the Labour Party, the units of which it is composed are not entirely so unanimous in their aim. All the active work of these units is directed from London.

The most important recent victory for the N. U. S. E. C. was the passage of the Sex Disqualification (Removal of) Act during the last session of Parliament. Women may now enter the legal profession with some assurance of having the same opportunities as men. But the act as it now stands has several unsatisfactory provisions and for the correction of these conditions the Union is working hard.

Although women may serve as jurors, there is a qualifying clause that only those who are householders can discharge this duty. This, of course, excludes most married women. Another objectionable provision is the right given judges to call for an all male or all female jury. Judges have absolute power in calling juries and may refuse to call in women in cases which are deemed "improper" or "indecent" for women's ears and judgment. This means that women are not going to be empaneled for sex cases involving morality questions, obviously the very cases on which their services are most needed.

Equal Moral Standard

English women have been working very hard also toward the establishment of an equal moral standard. They know well that success in this line depends upon their representation in the three agents of government—legislative, executive and judicial. There must be women in Parliament to work for the passage of just laws; there must be women on the police force and women in the courts to share the responsibility of administration and enforcement.

The Women's Division of the Police Department established in war time did excellent work. It is now being

(*Continued on page* 43)

Fourteen to Fourteen

THEY are all true—the old adages about pride and falls, boasters who forget to rap on wood, chickens and hatchings—West Virginia proved it.

Last August the card catalogue files carefully compiled by Maud Younger, Legislative Chairman of the Woman's Party, showed an overwhelming majority for ratification in the West Virginia legislature. To check up on this poll, a member of the legislature took another and discovered the same overwhelming majority. Our National Headquarters kept in touch with the situation until the special session was called.

The West Virginia delegation in Congress, the Democratic governor of the state, and the Republican national committeeman, all alike expressed certainty of ratification.

As I left for West Virginia I confided to everyone I met how happy I was to go to a state which would probably ratify unanimously, and every leading citizen I interviewed for the first four days confirmed my expectation.

Then the legislators began to assemble at the Kanawha Hotel, the political center of Charleston. I had their written pledges and I approached them more to exchange pleasant anticipations of victory than for any other purpose, and my fall began—a gradual inch-by-inch fall. The first man I met said: "Well, I haven't been here very long and I don't know just how I will vote. You see our great state voted suffrage down by a majority of—" And the second man said the same thing, and the third repeated the remark.

Then the splendid men who were leading our fight and who were standing staunch came to me with appalling reports of the wavering of this one and that one. It was an opposition stampede—nothing less.

I hurriedly told the Washington headquarters the situation and the National Republican Senatorial Committee was prevailed upon to send a representative, Mr. Frank Barrow, to West Virginia to urge the Republicans in the legislature to remember their party and vote for ratification.

Our chairman in West Virginia, Mrs. William Gay Brown, a staunch Democrat, conferred with the Democrats and made them appreciate their responsibility. Miss Anita Pollitzer, legislative secretary of the Woman's Party working in Washington, convinced Senator Sutherland that his state could not afford to defeat the amendment.

The Silent Six

We re-polled the House of Delegates and one hour before the vote was taken in that body on March 4 we knew we had 40 votes and the opposition had 41, and that there were six members who would tell neither friend, enemy nor party leader how they stood—the silent six they were called.

In the Senate we were certain of 14 both ways. But the Republican leaders were sure they could get one more. Some of them were even sure they could get three! Senator Harmer, who led the fight in the Senate and who is one of the best parliamentarians in the state, nevertheless was not for allowing ratification to come to a vote.

The vote was taken—and the clerk announced it—"14 to 14." Senator Harmer saved the situation by changing his vote and making reconsideration possible. The Senate adjourned. It was the turn of the House. When the debate began speeches were tossed from man to man like balls in a game, and never for four hours was there a moment of silence in the House. At six o'clock the vote was taken. Forty-six men, in the face of the action of the Senate, stood sound—not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as suffragists, every one of the silent six voting for us.

With the announcement of the tie in the Senate, national leaders who had paid no attention to our repeated warnings of peril sprang into action. Representative Fess, chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, immediately wired the following telegram to Republicans:

> "Can not overestimate importance from party standpoint of Republican legislature West Virginia ratification and desire to maintain this position. Any attempt substitute referendum would be grave mistake. Can we count on your active and immediate aid?"

Senator Poindexter, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee, told of the situation by leaders in Washington, sent the following message:

> "Republican Senatorial Committee is deeply concerned over result of suffrage vote in your Senate. We count on West Virginia's ratification. Republican party has pioneered every fight for suffrage and every state where Republicans had control of the legislature has ratified. Party will be greatly embarrassed if West Virginia breaks that most gratifying record through failure to cooperate with us at this critical time."

Senator Capper and Senator Kendrick likewise sent messages urging the Republicans to reconsider this fatal step.

The President Appeals

Senator Owen, Senator Walsh and Attorney General Palmer, Secretary Daniels and Secretary Baker all used every effort to make it a Democratic victory.

As a climax to all this, the President himself, realizing that one Democratic vote could save the situation, sent every opposed Democratic member of the Senate a telegram urging him to cast the deciding vote. If we could not obtain one vote from this pressure, there was only one chance left to us.

Senator Bloch, who was wintering in California, had asked to be paired for suffrage. The opposition refused to consider his request and no pressure could obtain from the opposed senators this ordinary senatorial courtesy. A long-distance call was put in for Senator Bloch in San Francisco. That night he started east.

Not a Man Falters

Now came the test of all our resources and of the loyalty of our friends, and I do not believe that any stauncher loyalty has been displayed by any group of men in the whole ratification campaign than by the 14 suffrage senators of the West Virginia legislature.

For five days these 14 men had to wait in Charleston while the fifteenth vote crossed the continent. Every day

they held conferences and buoyed one another up, while Betty Gram, who had been sent from Washington to help in the campaign, and I hovered round about trying, with radiant cheerfulness, to instill into everyone the feeling: "Senator Bloch is on his way and all is well with the world." Telegraphic dispatches constantly arrived saying Senator Bloch was in New Mexico or Omaha or some other remote place that gradually grew nearer.

Our enemies once more began their attack in the House. The opposition tried to reconsider and were beaten; tried a referendum and were beaten; tried to prevent reconsideration from being tabled and were beaten. Nevertheless, all of the delegates of this lower House had to be held in Charleston as well as the Senators. One man got as far as his comfortable seat in the train, but we heard that he had bought a ticket. I took a taxicab, Miss Gram and Mrs. Puffenbarger, Chairman of the Women's Committee of West Virginia, took another. We arrived simultaneously and that bewildered delegate was rushed off the train and back to his less comfortable seat in the Capitol.

At one time it looked as if we could not get enough votes to recess from day to day until Senator Bloch arrived, and our friends prepared for continuous session. They carried pillows in their hands and playing cards in their pockets, and we on the outside had all our arrangements made for relaying them sandwiches and coffee. It was the opposition that weakened in the face of this ordeal.

Lost—One Senator

Then came Monday, the day set for Mr. Bloch's arrival, and suddenly a senator disappeared. We thought that he had been abducted. His 13 suffrage colleagues rushed about searching for him. Miss Gram and I walked the streets, even daring to peer into barber-shop windows.

At last the mystery was solved. He had gone home and was delayed by a blizzard.

The Senate did not convene until he reappeared at 2:50 and saved the situation.

The Bloch Special

And then Senator Bloch arrived—one man alone in two coaches bouncing behind an engine that broke the world record for speed. He had chosen the special train rather than the airplane that was put at his disposal by the Republicans, but, as he said himself, he was traveling in the air most of the way to Charleston. As he got off the train, pale but smiling, he was grasping his golf sticks desperately in one hand and a thermos bottle of coffee in the other. And at 2:40 a. m., when his private train pulled in, the town was out to meet him.

While the senator tried to catch his breath, he gave this statement to the press:

> "The fourteen men who have so splendidly held together until my arrival deserve all the credit for the victory which we hope to gain tomorrow."

Even then our victory was won as by a miracle, for while we brought our vote from California, the anti-suffragists were also bringing a senator more quietly from Peoria, Ill. Senator Montgomery, who had moved out of the state and resigned from the Senate, was persuaded to come back and attempt to regain his seat. But one of the opposition whom it had happened by chance Senator Montgomery had told personally of his resignation, refused to dishonor himself by voting to reseat even a member of his own party under these conditions, and the day was saved again for the women of America.

Mary Dubrow.
National Organizer

Miss Mary Dubrow (center) and Miss Betty Gram, with Edgar B. Stewart (left) a leader in the legislature, greeted Senator Bloch, saver of the Suffrage day in West Virginia.

Women's Votes—A New Element in Politics

Rheta Childe Dorr

AS I write the first words of this article the Federal Suffrage Amendment is within two leaps—three for absolute safety—of being ratified by the required number of States, and yet, failing those three, the women of the United States are as hopelessly barred from citizenship as they were on a well remembered summer day nearly four years ago, when I, with five hundred other women, waited on President Wilson in the East Room of the White House and heard his clear, cold, and apparently final decision, that the Democratic Party could do nothing to further the passage of the Amendment through Congress, because the Baltimore Platform of 1912 had omitted to instruct him in the matter.

What oceans of water have swept under the bridge of time since that hot and turbid summer day. And yet nothing has happened to alter the truth of that ancient adage, "a miss is as good as a mile."

I know, and every suffragist knows that the mile will shrink and will be crossed at last with a single step. Women will vote, but two questions torment those suffragists to whom enfranchisement is a really vital thing: Will women vote in time to help elect a president and a Congress in 1920; if they do vote in time will they find a way to make their votes count as a new element in government? Ultimately the group opinion of women will find voice, but the question is, when?

How Are Things Going?

I think I know a small part of the answer, and that is that the real freedom of women will come and they will function in the community as a new and power-dispensing group when the burden of fighting for their freedom is taken off their backs. When the Suffrage Amendment is ratified, when women become full citizens, perhaps after a little time has elapsed and they have forgotten that they spent long years doing nothing but struggle for the elemental right of self-determination, then they will get together and express that group opinion which is needed to solve the worst social and political problems that are holding back this democracy.

I well remember, too, a raw, bleak afternoon when I walked, ankle deep in the icy mud of a small French village, so near the fighting line that the roar of German and allied guns sounded like the continuous roll (only infinitely multiplied) of the kettledrums of an orchestra. The village, too small to be dignified with a name except on war maps, was the point where our soldiers were massed going to and from the trenches on one of the earliest fronts occupied by American troops.

I had watched one regiment—perhaps more than one, I cannot tell—march off for a two-weeks' turn in the trenches, and later in the day I met and talked with a group of men who had emerged from their two weeks' duty. Caked with mud, unshaven, soiled and disheveled, their bloodshot eyes heavy from lack of sleep, the men were still alive enough to welcome a chat with a woman from home. We met in the dimly lighted, half heated shelter of a Salvation Army hut on the edge of the village. Hot coffee was being drunk from thick mugs, and cigarettes were alight as I sat down at the rude table where a group of doughboys eagerly greeted me. And what do you suppose was the first question they asked me? It came from several men at once.

"What is the news of the war? How are things going? Have the British held ——— since we left here? How many more Americans have got across?"

These men, the fighters, the very ones whose bodies were forming a stone wall to stop the German advance to the Channel Ports, were more ignorant than I of war news.

I tell this because it seems to me to be absolutely typical of the situation of the many active suffragists, that is of the only women who really devote themselves heart, soul and brain, to the essential duty of getting the vote, the women of the National Woman's Party. They fight one battle only, and of all the rest they are aware but dimly. They have not had time to inform themselves of the mighty struggles which are going on within the social body of which they are a part. How could they have time?

I have just been reading some of the letters written by Elsie Hill, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, and other undaunted and untiring soldiers who have been manning the guns in Vermont and Delaware. I have been reading over reports of Mary Winsor's hopeful, hopeless journey through the southern states. I can see those women, and all the others, splendid fighters, traveling night and day, foregoing meals and sleep, enduring hardships of which they never speak, in order to bring into line hard-headed, blind and obstinate obstructionists to the plain will of legislatures in some cases, to the will of the people in others, to the interests of the whole country in all

cases. Before the arguments, the logic, the plain common sense of these women the obstructionists finally see one thing at least. They see party responsibility, and they can sense party disaster unless that responsibility is assumed.

What else than this sense of impending disaster to the party which dares shoulder for all time the odium of refusing in 1920 to give to the women of the greatest of democracies the self-determination granted the Czechs, the Serbs, the Poles, the Finns and even the Turks—what else, I ask, dragged Mr. Bloch of West Virginia out of the sparkling surf of Pasadena and brought him across the continent in record time to turn suffrage defeat into suffrage victory in his own legislature? What else led the Governor of Vermont, standing on one foot and on the other, while newspaper men listened to his conversation with Elsie Hill and Catherine Flanagan, to reverse himself completely, and declare against his written statement, that he personally was not what people thought him, an anti-suffragist?

These two instances answer, I believe, the first question in women's minds, whether or not they will vote for president in November, 1920. I firmly believe that they will. Of course they will not have any part in naming candidates for president, and equally of course the party managers will see to it that no woman goes to a party convention as delegate who is at all likely to "make trouble" for the machine.

Through a Woman's Party

So we come at last to the question, how will women find a way to make their votes count as a new element in government. The answer, as I see it, is through a Woman's Party. Not in the usual sense of a party machine, but of a vast, informal, many opinioned body of women getting together with the one object of finding out what, after all, women want of government, and what kind of a program is needed to bring this country back to a peace basis, back to sanity and security and a normal frame of mind.

Someone said once that nothing goes so far astray as sagacity on the wrong scent. This is one of the copy-book maxims celebrated by Rudyard Kipling in a recent poem, in which he shows, rather more sanely than in some of his others, that it is homely wisdom that calls earth's children home after their maddest excursions in search of rainbows. Many of our women, alas, in the few spare moments left them between battles for the elemental right, do chase rainbows. Many others let their minds arrive at conclusions before more than half the evidence in a case is laid before them. Many of our industrial women unconsciously play into the hands of the selfish and the woman-hating demagogues of the labor world, and while trying to help, really increase the burden of the woman wage-earner. I don't see anything extraordinary in these things. I don't see anything discouraging. I simply see the necessity of haste in freeing women's minds so that they can think slowly, carefully, thoroughly and well. It is amazing how few mistakes they make when they have time to do that.

If this optimistic statement needs proof, consider how few mistakes the women of the National Woman's Party have made in their campaign which has carried the Federal Amendment through Congress and through the State legislatures. They made few mistakes because their minds were fixed on one task. When they have time to think of other things besides they will make few mistakes about any of the great modern problems that perplex and blind the will of the people.

I want to see a Woman's Party in the United States, free, flexible, open to argument, open to new ideas, hospitable to opinions of every kind, but always guided by the age-old inheritance of women, commonsense and race wisdom. In such a party opportunism and wily diplomacy would have no excuse for existence. Women would learn to think of themselves as real human beings, instead of something half-human and at best auxiliary to men. In time they would teach men themselves to think of women as something completely human and reasonable and wise, instead of the "half idiot, half angel" conception of femininity which has so long prevailed.

In the Day of Full Freedom For Women

When I think of the tremendous social and political changes which must take place before the world finds peace, before the useless burden of poverty and crime and prostitution is abolished forevermore, I grow impatient and angry for the day of women's freedom to arrive. Their intellectual and moral freedom, I mean, for that will surely follow closely after their political freedom. Think of the stone-age morality in which this country of ours still dwells. Illiteracy and alienism, the twin corner stones of reaction, what have men's government done to remove these? So little that in the first draft of men to form an American army in 1917, 700,000 young men, strong and lusty, potentially good citizens, were found to be completely ignorant of the first rudiments of education. The number of men drafted who could not speak or understand the simplest order given in the English language was almost as great, and remember that these men had all taken out their first citizenship papers if not their second. What a commentary on a government wholly male!

Not that a Woman's Party, as I dream of it, would wait until men were grown before beginning their education. I think women would begin before the men were born, begin with their mothers, and the community in which their mothers dwell, so that every woman would have a chance to bear her children in security both to herself and to them. But I have no mind to make the program of the Woman's Party, or to predict how the group opinion of women will first express itself. I want only to put forth the hope and the opinion that a Woman's Party must be, and that it will form itself under the leadership of those women who have proved that they know how to work effectively, know how to sacrifice every small object in order to gain their large one. Those who having learned how to get power cannot fail to know unerringly how to use it.

Rheta Childe Dorr.

The West is Won

EVERY state west of the Mississippi has ratified the suffrage amendment. Washington's unanimous vote on March 22d completed the list, and also brought into line the last of the suffrage states.

There was never any question about how the Washington legislature would vote, but there was for many months grave question as to whether it would be permitted to vote at all. Governor Hart persistently refused from June until March the requests of suffragists for a special session. The Woman's Party campaigned steadily in his state for a session. The local members of the party interviewed him at his home and every time he appeared in another city, other women would appeal to him on behalf of the women of the nation. Yet it was only when the contest narrowed down to the last two states and the country centered its attention on his refusal to permit Washington to ratify, that he decided—better any amount of other legislation than no legislation for suffrage. To guard against any possible attempt to introduce a referendum measure, as was done in Oklahoma, Mrs. Lillian Kerr, National Organizer for the Woman's Party, who had been through the ratification campaigns in Oklahoma and New Mexico, went to Olympia a few days before the legislature met and saw the certificate of ratification safely on its way to the Secretary of State.

But if Washington ratified without a contrary murmur, it was unique among the last five. In New Mexico, Oklahoma and West Virginia ratification was a moment to moment contest between wills, between political tacticians, between determined forces making for victory and for defeat.

A Plot Discovered

The chapter on ratifying the amendment in New Mexico reads more or less like the ancient tales of Spanish treasure. Rumors of a plot were heard—a plot which gave every evidence of existence but which could never be located. English telegrams and Spanish telegrams flew back and forth between Washington and Santa Fe and Santa Fe and Washington. Midnight consultations were held at the National Woman's Party headquarters and everyone worked day and night except the one man in whom all power was supposed to lie—O. H. Bursum, Republican National Committeeman from Oklahoma. "See Bursum" had been the only advice the leaders of the Woman's Party campaign in the state received. They had seen Bursum. He had said everything is well—all "fixed" in fact, and he had ended: "I shall be there."

The gist of the suspected plot was a substitution of a referendum for ratification and no sooner did the legislators begin to arrive in Santa Fe than talk of a referendum began. A wild call was sent out for Bursum. He was reported on the way. The legislature convened and our opponents said: "Well, what are you going to do about it? We've got 28 out of 49 and that beats you." This in the House, and in the Senate it was obvious that the Republicans, though they had a majority, would not ratify. The Woman's Party campaigned and got a solid Democratic vote in the upper House.

A constant stream of telegrams was going out for Bursum. Not only did Bursum fail to appear, he failed to reply. At last he was discovered on his most remote ranch a hundred miles from phone or telegraph.

Finally, in response to constant appeals from national republican leaders, a caucus was held which lasted three hours and the suffrage leaders came out announcing: "We've got them going and coming."

The hall was crowded for the vote. The Woman's Party placed on the desk of every member of the House a list of the states that had ratified and those that had defeated the amendment, with the question below: "On which list will you place the name of New Mexico." The session moved from dramatic climax to climax as, one by one, men who had led the opposition rose and voted "Aye" and then "explained" their votes. The vote was taken—36 to 10.

Where was Bursum? In the plot?

No sooner had the opposition been routed in New Mexico than it made a surprise attack in Oklahoma. In no other

Members of the Woman's Party watch carefully to see that Governor Hart signs on the line

full suffrage state had any serious opposition been encountered. It was the near approach of the 36th state which undoubtedly roused the antis to activity here.

The governor had steadily refused to call a special session, but his refusal had been overcome by a resolution secured from the Democratic State Committee asking for a special session to ratify the amendment.

On the morning that the legislature was to convene, suffragists were thrown into something of a panic by headlines in the papers—"Formidable Fight on Ratification Looms in the Senate. Referendum Planned by Opponents." Telegrams were at once sent by the Woman's Party in the state to the national headquarters. Within a short time the wires were busy with messages from Oklahoma senators and representatives.

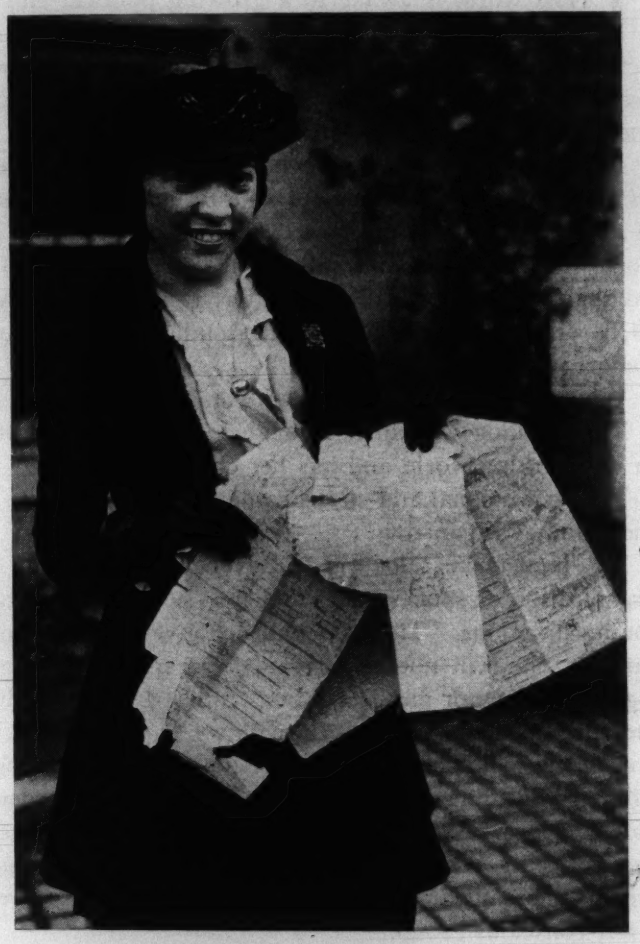
A strong statement from Senator Owen, known to be the friend of the referendum, explained that at this time a referendum would be tantamount to defeat, since none could be held before the next elections.

The messages culminated in one from President Wilson.

The session opened with the reading of these and many other wires from national organizations after a motion to omit the reading had been lost. Then followed six hours of debate led on the side of the opposition by a gentleman who grew so frenzied that he finally denounced Susan B. Anthony herself as a "mad woman" and was drowned out in hisses. When the vote came the amendment was ratified and more than one opponent changed his mind in time to be on the winning side.

In the Senate, the opposition began a long debate but was permitted very little oratory and the vote stood 24 to 15.

Yet even in these two states the struggle was dull and colorless compared to West Virginia where a tied Senate sat for five days while the deciding vote crossed the continent.



The way an organizer's pole looks by the time a legislature ratifies

The South Changes Its Suffrage Disposition

IN AN effort to redeem the reputation of its own state and the south, the senate of the Mississippi legislature, in the closing days of its session, ratified the suffrage amendment. This vote, which was saved from a tie by the lieutenant-governor, led Democratic leaders, national and state, to hope for a favorable vote in the lower house. In spite of the fact that everything possible was done to secure ratification, this body defeated it by a large majority. The legislature did, however, before adjournment, pass a resolution extending the franchise to the women of Mississippi in the event that thirty-six other states ratified the amendment! If this resolution has any effect, it is to empower local officials to provide for an increase in the number of voters in the coming elections.

The legislature of Virginia, before its adjournment, also provided for women voters in the coming elections and called forth the following editorial in the Richmond *Evening Journal,* published by E. S. Clover, one of a courageous group of southern editors who have stood for suffrage.

"Nothing quite so became the general assembly as the action of the House, just before adjourning *sine die,* in passing the Senate qualification bill, which provides the necessary machinery in the event of ratification.

"The bill, which the attorney general has pronounced constitutional, extends the right of suffrage to women, and prescribes the qualifications of those entitled to vote for all officers elective by the people and the manner in which they may register and vote."

Governor Roberts of Tennessee likewise announced, on March 11, that he will call a special session of the legislature to extend suffrage to Tennessee women if two more states ratify the amendment. He would do this, he said, to preclude the possibility of contesting elections in which women vote without previous enactment of state laws relating to payment of poll tax and registration.

The changing atitude of the south was also indicated in the recent tour of Miss Mary Winsor for the Woman's Party through Virginia, North Carolina and Florida. Big meetings were arranged not only by women but by influential men in the various southern cities, and so generous was the response to her appeal for money that she said herself she left Jacksonville feeling that it was indeed a sacked and pillaged city.

The sentiment of the south seems to be that if women are to be enfranchised, southern women should not receive their freedom entirely at the hands of the north; that southern legislatures should at least make the way of the new voters easy and that southern men and women should bear a part of the expense of the final campaign.

Feminism and the Home

THE world is awake to a growing political and social unrest. Many theories for greater world stability, or even greater unrest, are advocated daily. American women newly enfranchised are doing their part, suggesting, individually or in groups, many reforms.

But curiously enough, the home has got least attention of all from men or women. Domestic unrest receives little if any recognition in the new "woman's programs." Is the home then, and woman's relation to it specifically, to have no share in the new freedom? Or, if it is, just how is it to be affected by the broadening tendencies of today and tomorrow?

What is the actual position of women in this "new era?"

The working woman is struggling for equal opportunity in the working world and has her champions.

The professional and clerical woman is beginning to learn the value of organizing.

The homemaker alone is still everywhere without either organization or spokesman. Yet it is her problem which is the most serious. The vote will not give her equal opportunity. She will not be affected by a minimum wage, an eight-hour law, or any legislation tendered as a conciliatory measure to new voters. In eighty-five per cent of the homes she will continue to do her housework, mending and child tending unassisted, with no day of rest, no economic independence. What of her, an overworked member of society, with every prejudice of man against setting her free? She embodies the supreme plea to women to remain a self-conscious group.

Women and the New Home

And American women have one great advantage which gives them the power of choice at this moment—they have organization. They can, with the very organization that was accused by all the politicians of being a home wrecker, be the salvation of the home and family life. They can draw up a program demanding of the state municipal heating and refrigerating plants, central community kitchens, either day nurseries, where mothers can leave babies for limited hours under competent care, or state nurses, (like state teachers) to relieve mothers partially of the care of infants. Vested at last with the power of the vote, they have the power now to influence corporate business to acquiesce and help, by building homes with an eye to labor and time-saving devices, and by creating part-time shifts for those women who wish to combine family life with outside work.

Women can, holding the vote at last, compel the state to create an endowed department of Home and Family Research, with experts to study the old friction-breeding problems of the home, the question of how to adapt the home to efficiency standards, to devices that will finally eliminate irritation, to social readjustments—who will even make plain business-like analyses of the divorce question and who will not be afraid to consider the subject of the voluntary control of parenthood.

Men have as much to gain from this new enrichment and efficiency of the home as women. But the initiation of change must come from women, for men through all history have countenanced the present manner of home life with its overworked homemaker, with its frequently expressed or unexpressed complements of dissatisfaction and unhappiness, its woman of no individuality. Men fear the first home changes as men and women fear every innovation, as men and some women feared and opposed women's fight for the vote.

It remains for a Woman's Party to consider the reorganization of the home, and give the words "equality of opportunity" actual meaning for all women.

Rebecca Hourwich.

Including the Women of Hawaii

THE freedom which is assured to women under the Susan B. Anthony amendment will extend a third of the way across the Pacific and include the women of the Hawaiian Islands, who will now be able to vote for their representatives in Congress and for all local officers.

There has been a demand for suffrage on the part of Hawaiian women ever since the Islands became a territory of the United States. In 1918 Congress passed a bill empowering the territorial legislature to confer full suffrage on women and, in his message to the legislature in 1919, Governor McCarthy recommended a suffrage measure. It was introduced and passed the Senate, but failed in the House by a tie vote of fifteen to fifteen. This failure in the House was believed to be due to the hostile influence of two men who intended to run for public office and feared the women's vote. When these men did run for office later the women campaigned against them and defeated one of them.

Primitive Ministers Were Women

Under the old regime in the Islands, women held a political power fully equal to that which their new votes will give them. In the days of the monarchy the prime minister was always a woman and no act of the sovereign was legal without her endorsement. Several of these feminine prime ministers practically ruled the country. Perhaps in part because the prime minister was a woman, all the women have taken a keen interest in politics. They invariably attend political meetings and this indicates a very real interest, since the meetings often last from the early evening until 4 o'clock in the morning.

Another reason for the intelligent interest of women in the affairs of government is probably the fact that since 1839 education has been compulsory from six to fourteen years for boys and girls alike.

The Philippine and Porto Rican women and those of the other islands connected with the United States will not be affected by the amendment unless the local legislatures vote to adopt the measure themselves.

In the case of the Philippines a woman-suffrage bill passed the Senate in December but was later defeated in the lower house.

The Free Women of the Seminoles

EDITOR'S NOTE.—(Mrs. Minnie Moore-Willson, who contributes this article to THE SUFFRAGIST, has lived in Florida for many years and personally visited the Seminole Indians and investigated their mode of life. She has written a book, of which the title is "The Seminoles of Florida," and it was due in large part to her agitation that President Taft issued a proclamation reserving certain ands in Florida for the exclusive occupation and use of this tribe.)

THE equal rights about to be won by the women of this country are not new to America. Before the white women of any land dreamed of enfranchisement, before democracy itself was conceived in any complete form, the squaws of the Seminole Indians held equal power with their braves and warriors and controlled the wigwam rights of the camp.

There can not be any other race of people in the world, the freedom of whose women from the bondage of man-made laws is so complete as that of the women of the Seminole tribe in the Florida Everglades.

The Child Belongs to the Mother

The Seminole mother exercises absolute ownership over the children. Should the squaw, for any just cause, leave her husband, the children belong unconditionally to her—further, the lineage of the child is traced through the mother. Among seven hundred Seminoles living in the deep morasses of the Everglades, there are numerous clans or gens, such as the bear, the otter and the deer—the children always belonging to the clan which the mother represents.

While the Seminole mother is the tribal custodian of the children, she does not fail to teach them to obey their elders, regardless of sex or kinship, and because these ancestral teachings of perhaps centuries have been handed down and practiced inviolate through so many generations, there is no "problem of the child among the Seminoles."

A recent incident shows the absolute control of the Seminole child by the careful mother of the wilderness Everglade country.

A Seminole squaw came to make purchases at a store in the Okeechobee district. She had with her a papoose about a year old.

The little one, trained not to cry, still was tired and restless. The storekeeper, thinking to quiet the brown-skinned tot, approached it with a bright red stick of candy.

The babe instantly knocked it from his hand. He made a second attempt with the same result. An old resident, standing nearby, said: "Give the candy to the mother."

This was done and the mother handed it to her child, who took it and with great satisfaction immediately began to eat.

The mother had been silent, stoical and apparently indifferent, indicating in no way to the papoose that it should not take the candy from the stranger.

The teachings around the wigwam camp fires are so strong, so stern, that no Seminole child will accept anything from the white man, whom he has for generations been taught to distrust.

It is true that this band of Seminoles practice only simple traditional teachings given "long time ago by the great Spirit to his red children," yet these simple teachings include all that is fundamental in the making of character.

"Not to lie, not to steal, not to cheat, and to think with God" is the Seminole's religious creed.

Modesty, as the first ornament of woman, is taught the tiniest girl and also there is unfailing watchfulness and care which has made it possible for these wilderness people to live for generations with a record for purity which (it can be said without fear of contradiction) has no equal on the globe, for the stern death penalty would follow every breach of virtue. At this day not a drop of the white man's blood courses through the veins of a Seminole.

Once fifty years ago a Seminole girl unwisely bestowed her affections upon a white man. The punishment, unalterable, as laid down in their teachings, is—death. The verdict of this woman's council, apparently inhuman, was rendered, and the punishment was "Death by Hanging."

When questioned as to which of the squaws performed the killing, the answer was: "All, every squaw."

When a young brave wishes to marry a Seminole maid, he consults first her father and mother, who if they approve, tactfully and secretly inform the maid of his suit, the girl being at liberty to accept or reject, according to her own wish.

No Forced Marriages

No Seminole girl is forced into a marriage that is displeasing to her, and after the marriage it is the young Indian man who leaves his own camp, taking up his quarters in the lodge or wigwam provided in the bride's camp or village.

Not only is the Seminole woman a careful, capable and loving mother, but she is a good counsellor in the camp life.

The Tribal Council is composed of men trained from early manhood to assume this responsible position. In passing upon a vital subject the Council calls upon the older women of the camp to sit with them in consultation.

As to the position before the law of the Seminole squaw, if she wishes to divorce her husband and can prove that she has good cause, she can not only divorce him, but she can name his punishment. Thus, have the Seminoles of the Everglades anticipated the famous "Marital Courts."

The women make and handle their own money, when it is practicable working alongside the men, and spend their earnings to their own satisfaction.

In this tribe where the women have such power, the braves are in no way effeminate, but, on the contrary, they are forceful and heroic, full of valor and pride that has not lessened since the days of their heroic Chieftain—Osceola.

The men here do not fail to supply the camp with the necessary food, and, being communistic in their life, all are cared for; particularly are the aged looked after, more as a privilege than as a duty. The sick never suffer for the necessities within the reach of the tribe. And the braves care for the children as devotedly as the squaws.

Such is this ancient democracy in which women share authority with men.

Minnie Moore-Willson.

Is the Suffrage Amendment Valid?

With the Ohio Referendum Case Undecided by the Supreme Court only the Winning of the 37th State can put Ratification beyond Attack

WITH the final ratification vote in the thirty-sixth State, and the proclamation of the Secretary of State, the suffrage amendment becomes effective, but we need not expect its ancient enemies to give up the fight gracefully. If there is any possible way to question its validity or combat its enforcement, upon however specious an argument, we may expect that sort of an attack and be prepared to meet it. That the anti-suffragists can make a case against the amendment which will stand the final test of the courts is not to be greatly feared, but every lawsuit, however false may be its basis, is expensive and carries an element of uncertainty and holds in abeyance the enjoyment of the rights we have won. So far, only one opportunity has arisen for such a campaign against the amendment, and that is in Ohio, where the validity of the ratification of the suffrage amendment is being attacked by the anti-suffragists. The hearing of the Ohio case, in the Supreme Court of the United States is now set for April 12th.*

The Facts in the Case

The Legislature of Ohio unconditionally ratified the suffrage amendment last June, and the Secretary of State of Ohio has certified the fact of ratification to the Secretary of State of the United States. Later, there was filed with the Secretary of State of Ohio a petition asking for the submission of the legislature's action to a popular referendum, and the case is now before the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of error against the refusal of the Supreme Court of Ohio to grant an injunction against the proposed referendum. A brief has been filed as *amici curiae* by Shippen Lewis, George Wharton Pepper and William Draper Lewis, representing the National Woman's Party, which ably presents the contentions of suffragists.

It is possible but hardly probable that decisions will be rendered in cases which have already been heard upon the prohibition amendment, before the argument in the suffrage case, which may determine the question at issue. The prohibition cases raise numerous points which have no bearing whatever on the suffrage amendment, but as the whole question of the validity of that amendment is opened up in those cases, the effect of the Ohio referendum upon that amendment may be passed upon in a way that would affect the suffrage amendment also.

The State of Rhode Island attacked the prohibition amendment in an original proceeding brought in the Supreme Court and argued on March 8, seeking to have the amendment declared invalid and to enjoin its enforcement.

New Jersey, too, is seeking to bring an original proceeding, and the cases from Kentucky and Massachusetts, which were also heard, were on appeals from decisions of the Federal courts that have sustained the prohibition amendment. Solicitor General King and Assistant Attorney General Frierson appeared for the Government, while Attorney General Albert A. Rice of Rhode Island, Attorney General McCran of New Jersey represented their respective States, Levy Mayer of Chicago the Kentucky complainants, and P. H. Kelly the Massachusetts appellant. Elihu Root filed a brief in behalf of the United States Brewers' Association, and Wayne B. Wheeler in behalf of the Anti-Saloon League.

New Jersey Verdict Favorable

In a case recently tried in the Federal Court at Trenton, N. J., an injunction was sought against the enforcement of the Volstead Act upon the ground, among others, that in many States a referendum was mandatory before ratification could become effective. In upholding the constitutionality of the Volstead Act and the prohibition amendment, Federal Judge Rellstab said: "The people of the thirteen original States, through their conventions called pursuant to Article VII of the proposed U. S. Constitution, ratified it in the form proposed. In so ratifying, they delegated the power of amendment to their representatives, designating them and prescribing the functions of each. This delegated power the people have never retaken. Having so delegated the power of amendment, it can not be executed in any other manner than as prescribed nor by any instrumentality other than those designated."

This contention is set forth in the brief filed in the Supreme Court of the United States by counsel representing the Woman's Party, and will be orally presented when the case is heard on April 12th, together with other propositions of law raised by our counsel.

The ratification of the suffrage amendment by the thirty-seventh State, in the absence of any further litigation than that involved in the Ohio referendum case, would bring our amendment out of the atmosphere of uncertainty in which it must rest as long as Ohio is counted among the thirty-six States without a decision upon this legal question.

The opponents of suffrage have threatened also to question the validity of West Virginia's ratification. So far, no proceeding has been brought. Numerous announcements have been made through the daily papers that antis "were prepared to fight the amendment through the courts." As it would be difficult to conceive of a case where property rights would be involved under the suffrage amendment, as in the cases questioning the validity of the prohibition amendment, it will not be so easy for the opponents of suffrage to bring their contentions within the jurisdiction of the Courts. They would probably be forced to await the time when women of non-suffrage states undertake to exercise the right of franchise under the amendment and then try to prevent their voting, or, after the election, raise the question by contesting the election.

Sue S. White.

THE SUFFRAGE STORM CENTER

(*Continued from page* 31)

call. Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, member of the Woman's Party, was present at the convention. In spite of this expression of the will of his party, the Governor's opposition persists.

There is, nevertheless, hope in Connecticut.

Judge Light, former attorney general of the State, has issued a statement saying that the Legislature of Connecticut can call its forces into special session by the legislative authority of its members.

Under section 2, Article III, the original Connecticut constitution provided for annual sessions (later changed to biennial) of the general assembly, and for sessions "at such other times as the general assembly shall judge necessary."

Suffragists can, therefore, fall back on the primary and fundamental right of the legislature to convene itself.

North Carolina's Chance

Miss Sue White as a representative of the National Woman's Party spent a week in North Carolina in March, organizing intensive work in that state in preparation for the state Democratic convention in April and the special session announced for July. Governor Bickett, whom Miss White interviewed, has already announced that he will ask the legislature meeting in July to ratify the amendment.

"I have a profound conviction," the Governor stated recently, "that the special session of the North Carolina legislature will ratify the suffrage amendment, regardless of what other states may do."

A. L. Brooks, who is being urged by the progressive element in the state to oppose Senator Overman for the United States Senate, is a strong supporter of ratification, while Judge Walter Clark, one of the most influential men in the state, is an ardent suffragist. With both of these men Miss White held long conferences.

Another evidence of the rapidity with which North Carolina is changing its position in regard to votes for women is the election of a large number of women delegates to the state convention. Their presence may well serve to swing the convention for ratification at the special session.

Miss White visited Raleigh, Charlotte, Greensboro and Elizabeth City, organizing committees in each town to poll the legislature and interview leaders throughout the state. Miss Julia Alexander, of Charlotte, cousin of Judge Clark, is among the women who will devote their time to this work until the legislature meets and acts.

The suggestion of ratification is being backed strongly by local newspapers, as the following editorial from the Raleigh *News and Observer* of March 15th indicates:

> "Hon Claude Kitchin was represented recently as saying that he would 'hate for North Carolina to be the only one of the eleven Southern states to ratify.' It would be a high honor if North Carolina could be the 36th state, and thus let North Carolina men confer suffrage upon their own women and upon the women of the South.
>
> "But Mr. Kitchin has miscounted. Arkansas and Texas have ratified the amendment and there is no construction of the word 'Southern' by which those two states could be left out of the category. Oklahoma was not one of the states of the Confederacy, for it was not formed until after the war, but it is generally referred to as a Southern state and a recent Southern veterans' reunion was held there; and Oklahoma has ratified. West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, while not among the seceding states, nevertheless have always had many sympathizers with the South and they have all three ratified.
>
> "In Tennessee the women have Presidential and municipal suffrage and the Legislature would have ratified suffrage before now, but for a provision in the constitution prohibiting it to vote on ratifying an amendment to the Federal Constitution unless the legislature was elected after the amendment was submitted. The same is true of Florida.
>
> "In Louisiana a full suffrage amendment to the State constitution received a majority at the polls outside of New Orleans but the bar room and machine combination in that city defeated it. The new Legislature which will meet in May will doubtless ratify.
>
> "In Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and Maryland the amendment was voted down but Mississippi and Virginia submitted to the electorate an amendment to the State Constitution for all suffrage
>
> "The Georgia Legislature did not vote for suffrage but bungled the matter so that they did not vote against it.
>
> "There remains only North Carolina which, if it ratifies, will be very far from being as Mr. Kitchin supposed, 'the only Southern state to do so.'"

As this editorial points out, it was the New Orleans vote that kept Louisiana out of the suffrage column, and there is encouragement in the fact that the mayor of that city has recently declared for the federal amendment.

Everything points to the hope that the last state is now involved in such an inter-party contest as resulted in the "last" vote being produced on both sides of the United States Senate.

THE ENGLISH WOMAN

(*Continued from page* 33)

enlarged and retained as a permanent peace time organization. Under the Sex Disqualification Act, women are now eligible for the office of magistrate. The Lord Chancellor has just appointed an Advisory Committee of women who will assist in the selection of women magistrates. This committee constitutes the first definite appointment of women as Justices of the Peace.

Mothers' and Widows' Pensions, or childhood endowment, is also a question now receiving a good deal of attention and support from both the women of the Labor Party and the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship. At the time of a general election, as well as at the by-elections, the N. U. S. E. C. through its hundreds of units can be a real influence. In the future English politicians will remember the power of the thirteen and a half million women voters and issues in which women are interested.

But as for women candidates in the next election—that is a different question. The Labour Party is certain to run a few. Margaret Bondfield and aMry MacArthur, however, have already been definitely adopted by two constituencies and other women will be adopted as the time of the next general election draws near. With every day that passes women in a score of different fields are filling more important places in the government of England.

Isabel Middleton Morley.

Oxford, March 5, 1920.

Bills in Congress Relating to Women

THERE are seven bills now pending in Congress relating especially to women. They include the subjects of civil service, maternity, alien citizenship, and labor. Their history and present status follows:

Rank for Army Nurses

The provision for rank for army nurses, included in the Army Reorganization bill, passed the House of Representatives on March 18, and has been recommended by the Senate Military Affairs Committee. The Senate will begin the consideration of the bill in April and this section will be reached a few days later. The section provides:

"Hereafter the members of the Army Nurse Corps shall have relative rank as follows: The Superintendent shall have the relative rank of Major; the Assistant Superintendent, Director and Assistant Director, the relative rank of Captain; Chief Nurses the relative rank of First Lieutenant; and Nurses the relative rank of Second Lieutenant; and as regards medical and sanitary matters and all other work within the lines of their professional duties, shall have and shall be regarded as having authority in and about military hospitals, next after the Medical Officers of the Army, and shall wear the insignia indicative of their relative rank in the Army, as may be prescribed by regulations."

Alien Citizenship

House Bill 12749, introduced February 25, 1920, by Representative Rogers of Massachusetts, provides that after the ratification of the suffrage amendment no woman who is an American citizen shall lose her citizenship by marrying an alien, and that no alien woman shall acquire citizenship by marrying an American citizen.

Referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, composed of Representatives Johnson of Washington, Siegel, Knutson, McCulloch, Taylor of Tennessee, Kleczka, Vaile, White of Kansas, Swope, Sabath, Raker, Wilson of Louisiana, Welty, Box, and Rainey of Alabama. The committee has had one hearing.

House Bill 12651 and Senate Bill 3945, introduced in the House by Representative Butler and in the Senate by Senator Knox, provide that no married woman, born in the United States of American parents, also born in the United States, and who, prior to April 6, 1917, shall have intermarried in the United States with a subject of the German Empire or a subject of the Empire of Austria-Hungary, who at the time of said marriage was living in the United States, shall be deemed or held to be an alien enemy as a result of the war; and that no Act of Congress, passed as a war measure or otherwise, shall be held to authorize the Government to hold or take possession of the property of such married woman; and that any property heretofore owned by such married woman and now held by the Alien Property Custodian shall be paid over to her or her attorney.

Referred, in the Senate, to the Judiciary Committee, composed of Senators Nelson, Dillingham, Brandegee, Borah, Cummins, Colt, Sterling, Fall, Norris, Kellogg, Culberson, Overman, Reed, Ashurst, Shields, Walsh of Montana, Smith of Georgia, and King.

Referred, in the House, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which also has a similar bill introduced by Representative Winslow, relating not only to American women, but also to women who prior to marriage were subjects of countries which remained neutral in the recent war, who, prior to July 28, 1914, intermarried with subjects of the German Empire or of the Empire of Austria-Hungary. Hearings were held on March 23 and April 2, by the House Committee.

Labor

House Bill 12679, favorably reported by House Committee, March 30, provides for the establishment in the Department of Labor of a Woman's Bureau, whose director shall be a woman and whose duty it shall be to formulate standards and policies which shall promote the welfare of wage-earning women.

The Labor Committee is composed of Representatives Smith of Michigan (chairman), Nolan, Hersey, Zihlman, Gould, Bland of Indiana, MacCrate, Murphy, Evans of Nebraska, Meher, Casey, Carss, Major and Hoey.

Maternity

Sheppard-Towner Bill (Senate 3259, House 10925), introduced in the Senate on October 20, 1919, by Senator Sheppard and in the House on December 5, 1919, by Representative Towner, providing for an appropriation to be used in cooperating with the States in promoting the care of maternity and infancy.

Referred, in the Senate, to the Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine, composed of Senators France, Townsend, Frelinghuysen, Penrose, Harding, Ball, Ransdell, Fletcher, Owen, Underwood and Harris.

Referred, in the House, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, composed of Representatives Esch, Hamilton, Winslow, Parker, Sweet, Stiness, Cooper, Ellsworth, Denison, Sanders of Indiana, Merritt, Webster, Jones of Pennsylvania, Sims, Doremus, Barkley, Reyburn, Montague, Coady, Dewalt, and Sanders of Louisiana. No hearings have been scheduled.

Civil Service

Senate Bill 3457, introduced November 19, 1919, by Senator McLean, providing for amendment to Civil Service law so that certificates from the eligible list shall not specify sex.

Referred to the Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, composed of Senators Sterling (chairman), Cummins, LaFollette, Smoot, Colt, Ball, Capper, McKellar, Ransdell, Kirby and Wolcott.

House Bill 11234, introduced December 16, 1919, by Representative Fess, providing for amendment to Civil Service law so that the Civil Service Commission shall consist of five persons, not less than two of them women.

Referred to Committee on Reform in the Civil Service, composed of Representatives Lehlbach (chairman), Fairfield, Nelson of Wisconsin, Smith of Michigan, Smith of Idaho, Graham of Illinois, Crowther, Hill, Godwin of North Carolina, Hamill, Mooney, Rowan and Stoll.

There have been no hearings on either bill.

The Enfranchised Woman in Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

STATE by State has laid its ratifying ring upon the American Woman's Liberty Bell—the Anthony Amendment, and each ring has sent a thrill through the hearts of thousands of women whose posts of duty kept them out of the fighting ranks. But as the stroke of thirty-six approached, the thrill turned to a deep and understanding gratitude to the women who have fought the battle for all. For that small group who, in the noon of the nineteenth century, braved the soul-scorching fire of ridicule and ribald jest; who, inch by inch, forced the claims of women up the steep incline of indifference and prejudice—never flinching, never falling back, always holding within their vision the top of the hill of achievement—for those new women of the old days we women of these new days hold a special reverence. Next to them and as their anointed do we hold the hosts of younger women who came to the help of the pioneers, quenched the fires of ridicule, forced indifference and contempt into active serious opposition and then, by strategic and tireless fighting, bore their opponents down to eternal defeat.

Suffrage Restoring Control Over Working Conditions

Time alone can write the complete record of what these women have done for all women but there are already convincing evidences that he will not be slow making entries. The wage-earning woman is already on record. She bids fair to command as a sovereign citizen what she could not secure by demand as a subject citizen. For the political revolution which the hosts of suffrage have wrought is restoring to her what the industrial revolution took from her, viz., the voice of control over the conditions under which women work. When women spun and wove, cut and sewed, brewed and baked in the home there was always a woman—usually the mother—present who regulated the hours and conditions of labor and looked after the health and general welfare of the workers. When the power-driven machine took the work and the worker into the factory the guardianship of welfare of women workers was surrendered by women to men—men foremen, men managers, men law makers, men labor commissioners, men inspectors. Now and then a woman inspector, subject to the orders of men, appeared in response to insistent demand from organizations of women. Groups of women humbly sought and frequently got hearings on proposed legislation affecting women. But usually the petitioners were regarded as tenacious bores and the subject of the legal regulations of conditions of labor was considered a subject which should be left to the judgment of the law-making men and the administration of the law to the male administrators. The woman lobbyist for or against bills affecting women is familiar, if not with the bold statement, at least with the irritated manner which plainly implied the wish, "that women would stay home and mind their own business." But a conspicuous result of the imminence of the complete suffrage for women is the frank eagerness of political leaders to find out just what women want in the way of legislation and their care to see that women are named as commissioners and board members and heads of bureaus dealing with labor. As for women factory inspectors they are legion. The individual mother can not look after her daughter as in the old home industry days but the collective voice of women is being heard in the councils that shape the conditions under which women work.

Who is Spokesman

It becomes a serious question as to who is the logical spokesman for the big mass of young but not child wage-earners—for it must not be overlooked that according to the last available figures more than half of the women in factories and mills are under twenty-one. While inarticulate as a group they are by no means without judgments, unreasoned and unrelated though they may be. The more mature, the higher paid, more self-reliant wage-earning women base their claim to spokesmanship in the matter of restrictive legislation upon the fact that as wage-earners they are better fitted to hold the brief for the wage-earning sorority as a whole than "philanthropists, welfare workers and social uplifters." The charge that they are the "select and fortunate few" is met with the rejoinder that if they are the better paid and better environed it but argues their ability to present effectively the case of the group they represent; that the record of successful representation reveals the importance of choosing the ablest not the mediocre or most impotent to plead the cause of a class.

On the other hand the social group promoters of restrictive legislation affecting adult women contend that the skilled, highly paid wage-earning woman is not a safe spokesman for the great mass of women wage-earners because she thinks in terms of her own superior bargaining power, and acts upon the assumption that as she is able to take care of herself all her sister wage-earners can do the same; that needing no legal restrictions to control the conditions under which she labors she holds that such restrictions only handicap her in open competition for highly paid work and forgets that where the bargaining power is weak or absent restrictions against the employment of women under hazardous conditions are essential to the adequate protection of the health and safety of young wage earning women.

It should also be said that the Women's Trade Union Leagues are active supporters of such legislation, contending that it is not a restriction but a necessary protection. Opponents charge that this association is officered nationally by a non-wage-earning woman and financed in large part by the same type of women; that it includes among its most active workers in legislative matters the so-called "allied members" who are not wage-earners, and that the backing of the organization for restrictive legislation is not as representative of the wishes of working women as the name of the organization would imply.

If any one has time to scrutinize rather carefully the whole range of argument certain questions force themselves to the front.

In the first place, is it not a question of the public's right to protect its stake in the health and welfare of a large mass

of young women who though not children are yet too immature to speak intelligently or choose effective protection for themselves? In the next place, have not the women who secured representation for women in the law-making and law administering bodies furnished also the answer to the question as to the proper spokesman for the immature though not child wage-earners?

Where the health and welfare of young girls and children are the chief concern of an official body why should not women—mothers—mature women wage-earners—dominate in the control of conditions now as in the days of home industries? "A" man—perhaps two—might properly be put on the controlling agency to represent the interest of industry which must always be secondary to the interest of the health of the rising generation. As things go now, "a" woman is put on the board or commission to look after the woman's world old job and the nation's most valuable asset, and from two to eight men are there who—like the woman—instinctively think first of their earth old job "business"—which in these cases is the nation's second asset.

The Wageless Working Woman

It will be interesting to see just how long after the complete enfranchisement of women, the federal government will continue to act on the assumption that the home making woman does not count in the census of occupations. How long will the Director of the Census continue to instruct the counting agents thus:

"*Women Doing Housework.* In the case of a woman doing housework in her own home, without salary or wages, and having no other employment, the entry in column 18 (Occupation) should be none.

"*Women Doing Farm Work.* A woman working regularly at outdoor farm work, even though she works on the home farm for her husband, son or other relative and does not receive money wages, should be returned in column 18 as a farm laborer.

"*Children Working For Parents.* Children who work for their parents at home merely on general household work, on chores, or at odd times on other work, should be reported as having no occupation. Those, however, who materially assist their parents in the performance of work other than household should be reported as having an occupation. In the case of children who work for their parents on a farm, the entry in Column 18 should be farm laborer."

Why the discrimination between the wageless woman engaged in outdoor farm work and the wageless woman engaged in indoor housework? Each saves for the family budget the "keep" and wages of a worker. One does it by working on the farm; the other by preparing the food and care necessary to those who work on the farm. One may regularly feed the horses that work in the field; the other may regularly feed the men that work in the field. Why is one "gainfully employed" and the other not? The nearly 19 million indoor working wives and mothers in America are saving in wages and "keep" about 10 billion dollars a year by doing their own work. That should be gain enough to warrant labeling the work as an occupation. It is a safe guess that the label will appear before the echoes of "the stroke of thirty-six" have died away.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

Woman's freedom does not consist and never will consist merely in the possession of a vote; there are a great many men possessing votes who are by no means free, largely because they do not value freedom. But if women, when they obtain the vote, value freedom, as many are showing that they value it by their struggle to get the vote, then without doubt we shall see in all departments of life and art a new influence showing itself, different in kind from any influence that has hitherto held sway in our civic life.

Freedom for women has a twofold aspect—outwardly it may be described as a 'right-of-way," a right to enter, without any artificial barriers imposed by the other sex, into all the departments of life, there to test their power and their limitations without hindrance and without favor; inwardly it means something deeper and more important, it means a power for moral and spiritual initiative, to the exercise of which the "right-of-way" will only provide the means.

Laurence Houseman.

WE are nearing a victory, already long overdue in this struggle for admission to citizenship in our own country, and for the right to full political expression. Perhaps by the time these words are printed, the end, this end, may have been achieved.

The over-dueness of our enfranchisement is particularly tantalizing in view of the fact that it finds us faced with an accumulation of questions all also overdue, all pressing for solution. Many of these are questions of the utmost urgency as regards women's lives, both social and individual, questions, too, which are not likely to be settled satisfactorily to the community, unless there goes to the settling the contribution of women's thought and women's experience.

It was a thinker from the other side of the Atlantic who the other day made the sage remark that the United States was the only civilized country which in a hundred years had not renewed its political machinery. Assuredly the next quarter of a century is going to see considerable changes therein, and the republic is to be congratulated on having enfranchised women citizens in time to take their share in re-casting and bringing up-to-date both the methods of making the laws we live under, and also the methods of their administration.

And because both the laws, and the way the laws are put in force, affect every woman, whether she lives on a lonely farm, in a small country town, or in a crowded city tenement, and can make of her a happier woman, or a more wretched, a more efficient wife and mother, or a more incompetent one, so on the other hand, every woman, being a citizen, can help to make the farm a finer home for her children, can help to make in the small town a center of civic life, can even, while alleviating the evils of the tenement, hasten the day when tenements shall be no more.

But every one of these questions furnish us women with a preliminary problem, that of our own education in matters civic and political, and it may be a help in these days of turmoil and strangeness if we use the Suffragist Book-Page partly as a guide in obtaining the information we shall need if we are to be intelligent voters and twentieth century citizens. So next month we intend to print a selected list of books on the woman movement, and on some of the many

allied subjects of special interest to women, such as mothers' pensions, and the legal status of women in the different states. We will include as many of the latest books as possible, and try to indicate also the regular sources, such as the Children's Bureau, which can always be appealed to for up-to-date information in their own line of work.

The country woman, and the woman of the small town carry on their lives under so many difficulties that I cannot wait longer before introducing to the SUFFRAGIST's readers Evelyn Dewey's "New Schools for Old," a book that is helping to open the way to an altogether different sort of country life, especially for the women and the young people. Written by John Dewey's daughter, it records the regeneration of a country township through its school. The achievement of a woman, and that woman the school teacher, working altogether unaided, save in so far as she enlisted local cooperation as she went along.

A Woman School Teacher

The Little Red School House was a big factor in supplementing the culture and the opportunities of farmers' children. It taught the academic subjects expected fifty years ago, and was not asked to do more, for the life on the farm supplied a training all its own to both boys and girls.

But now the country school in far too many instances has fallen behind in supplying even academic teaching, and with the mounting shortage of teachers, the situation grows worse all the time. The farm, too, fails as a trainer of childhood. Perhaps it is disorganized, and, meeting its own problems inadequately, has little of sound training or opportunities to offer to the children. In other cases it is so highly organized that machinery and hired help take care of everything, and the child is left outside the interests of his home, and of the near-by small town, a bored onlooker, only too ready to escape from his uninteresting surroundings to the more attractive and attracting city life. In "New Schools For Old" we have the enthralling story of the Porter community in Missouri. Mrs. Marie Turner Harvey was a first-class teacher, who, in the summer of 1912, took charge of Porter's school at $50 a month, with the understanding that she was to stay three years. Porter was a prosperous district as far as crops went, but it had always had a poor and struggling school. Why any teacher who was any good, who could earn a better living elsewhere, should choose to settle there was a mystery to the townsfolk. A few were even certain that there must be graft somewhere under the surface of so unnatural a proceeding.

Everybody Helps

Mrs. Harvey would not board. She bargained for a little home of her own, however poor. She began with the support, ever loyally maintained, of a few families in the community. It was a one-room school, plaster falling from the ceiling, almost unheated, no janitor service, no schoolroom equipment in the way of books, maps, ink or paper, and the resort of tramps who dropped in from the adjoining highroad. With truly feminine economy Mrs. Harvey suggested that instead of planting a cyclone cellar, for which a spare $50 had been allotted, in the school yard, it should be put under the schoolroom, giving space for a furnace, and supplying an additional room as well. The men of the neighborhood were to contribute the necessary labor. This is but an instance of how she worked, beginning on the palpable need and enlisting the community to help to meet it. As she managed her building problems, so she handled her scholastic ones. Instead of insisting upon an impossible irregularity of attendance during the busy season, she welcomed boys and girls as they drifted back, helping them to pick up all the interesting things that had been talked of while they were away.

Botany, Chickens and Bands

The school garden was planted around her own cottage, and the children learned both gardening and botany at the same time. She had seeds sent for, and soon home gardens were quite the rage in Porter. As time went on a poultry farm was developed. The Porter chicken yards were only to furnish family eggs, but the children had pure-bred stock, and learned what they learned thoroughly, thanks to the assistance of agricultural experts whom Mrs. Harvey and the directors of the school invited to give demonstrations.

Then there was the school band, begun among the older boys, but now including girls too. This has become the nucleus of all sorts of community gatherings. The boys no longer lounge around the corners of the village street Saturday nights, and the girls have a wholesome social life.

Dividing the Burden

One of her most striking qualities is Mrs. Harvey's capacity for winning the cooperation of others. She works on the sound psychological principle of meeting people on the ground of something they are interested in. She thus avoids a common error of enthusiasts of being swamped with over much detail, or being exhausted to weariness by trying to carry the whole burden alone.

The first years Mrs. Harvey followed the usual practice of having commencement exercises. Now, though there are many social school gatherings, she no longer goes through the form of graduating pupils. Graduation inevitably conveyed the idea and published to the world the fact that the boy or girl was done with school, had acquired all that was possible, and could therefore leave books and learning behind. But there are many half-grown boys and girls, whose help is called for at home at certain seasons, who at others have a great deal of free time. They come back for as many weeks or months as they can attend. Although they may have finished the eighth grade, there are always high school subjects to take up. At first this was done through the aid of correspondence work, till in 1917 high school education became so popular that a small high school was established nearby. And no innovation in Porter's education system has had more unlooked for happy results than the teacher's astonishing plan of refusing to send forth her pupils ticketed as fully educated.

New Schools for Old. Evelyn Dewey. E. P. Dutton and Company, New York.

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified the Amendment

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	VOTE House
1	Wisconsin	R	R	June 10	24–1	54–2
2	*Michigan	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3	*Kansas	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4	*Ohio	D	R	June 16	27–3	73–6
5	*New York	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6	Illinois	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133–4
7	Pennsylvania	R	R	June 24	32–6	153–44
8	Massachusetts	R	R	June 25	34–5	184–77
9	*Texas	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96–21
10	*Iowa	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95–5
11	*Missouri	D	Div.'d.	July 3	28–3	125–4
12	*Arkansas	D	D	July 20	20–2	76–17
13	*Montana	D	R	July 30	38–1	Unan.
14	*Nebraska	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15	*Minnesota	R	R	Sept. 8	60–5	120–6
16	*New Hampshire	R	R	Sept. 10	14–10	212–143
17	*Utah	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18	*California	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73–2
19	*Maine	R	R	Nov. 5	24–5	72–68
20	*North Dakota	R	R	Dec. 1	38–4	103–6
21	*South Dakota	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22	*Colorado	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23	Rhode Island	R	R	Jan. 6	37–1	89–3
24	Kentucky	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30–8	72–25
25	*Oregon	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26	*Indiana	R	R	Jan. 16	43–3	Unan.
27	*Wyoming	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28	*Nevada	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29	New Jersey	D	R	Feb. 10	18–2	34–24
30	*Idaho	R	R	Feb. 11	29–6	Unan.
31	*Arizona	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32	*New Mexico	R	R	Feb. 19	17–5	36–10
33	*Oklahoma	D	D	Feb. 27		
34	*West Virginia	D	R	March 10	15–14	47–40
35	*Washington	R	R	March 22	Unan.	Unan.

Now in Special Session

Delaware	R	R	Met March 22

States Which Have Defeated the Amendment

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	VOTE House
1	Alabama	D	D	Sept. 2	18–13	No vote
2	Georgia	D	D	July 24	39–8	118–20
3	Mississippi	D	D	Jan. 21	23–22(For)	96–23
4	South Carolina	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93–21
5	Virginia	D	D	Feb. 12	24–10	62–22
6	Maryland	D	D	Feb. 17	18–9	64–36

States Which Have Not Acted

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Connecticut	R	R	No regular session this year.
2	Vermont	R	R	No regular session this year.
3	North Carolina	D	D	No regular session this year.
4	Louisiana	D	D	Regular session in May, 1920.

States Which Cannot Take Action This Year

(Because of Constitutional Provision requiring election to intervene between submission of and action on an amendment).

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Florida	D	D	Majority of legislature asked Congress to pass amendment.
2	Tennessee	D	D	Presidential suffrage state.